

The empress Theophano

Byzantium and the West at the turn of the
first millennium

Edited by
ADELBERT DAVIDS
University of Nijmegen



PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS SYNDICATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE
The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge, United Kingdom

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK
40 West 20th Street, New York NY 10011-4211, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
Ruiz de Alarcón 13, 28014 Madrid, Spain
Dock House, The Waterfront, Cape Town 8001, South Africa

<http://www.cambridge.org>

© Cambridge University Press 1995

This book is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception
and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements,
no reproduction of any part may take place without
the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 1995

First paperback edition 2002

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data

The empress Theophano: Byzantium and the West at the turn of the first
millennium / edited by Adelbert Davids.

p. cm.

Papers presented at a symposium held at the Castle of Hernen
in the Netherlands in May 1991.

Published in association with the A. A. Bredius Foundation
(Hernen, the Netherlands) and the Institute for Eastern Christian Studies
(Nijmegen, the Netherlands).

Includes bibliographical references.

ISBN 0 521 45296 1

1. Theophano, empress, consort of Otto II, Holy Roman Emperor, 955-991 - Congress.

2. Empresses - Holy Roman Empire - Biography - Congress.

3. Holy Roman Empire - Relations - Byzantine Empire - Congress.

4. Byzantine Empire - Relations - Holy Roman Empire - Congresses.

I. Davids, Adelbert.

DD140.T47E48 1995

943'.022'092-dc20 94-5289 CIP

ISBN 0 521 45296 1 hardback

ISBN 0 521 52467 9 paperback

Contents

<i>List of illustrations</i>	page ix
<i>List of contributors</i>	x
<i>Preface</i>	xii
<i>List of abbreviations</i>	xv
1 <i>Theophanu divina gratia imperatrix augusta:</i> western and eastern emperorship in the later tenth century <i>Karl Leyser</i>	1
2 <i>Theophano, the western empress from the East</i> <i>Odilo Engels</i>	28
3 <i>Theophano: an empress reconsidered</i> <i>K. Ciggaar</i>	49
4 <i>Theophano: considerations on the education of a</i> <i>Byzantine princess</i> <i>Judith Herrin</i>	64
5 <i>The education of the daughters of the nobility in the</i> <i>Ottonian Empire</i> <i>Johanna Maria van Winter</i>	86
6 <i>Marriage negotiations between Byzantium and the West</i> <i>and the name of Theophano in Byzantium (eighth to</i> <i>tenth centuries)</i> <i>Adelbert Davids</i>	99
7 <i>A marriage too far? Maria Lekapena and Peter of</i> <i>Bulgaria</i> <i>Jonathan Shepard</i>	121

Contents

8	The image of women of the nobility in the German chronicles of the tenth and eleventh centuries <i>P. Bange</i>	150
9	Ottonian intellectual culture in the tenth century and the role of Theophano <i>Rosamond McKitterick</i>	169
10	Froumund's Greek: an analysis of fol. 12v of the Codex Vindobonensis Graecus 114, followed by a comparison with a Latin-Greek wordlist in MS 179 Auxerre fol. 137v ff <i>W. J. Aerts</i>	194
11	The art of Byzantium and its relation to Germany in the time of the empress Theophano <i>Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne</i>	211
12	Imperial art in Byzantium from Basil I to Basil II (867–1025) <i>E. Voordeckers</i>	231
13	Did Theophano leave her mark on the Ottonian sumptuary arts? <i>H. Westermann-Angerhausen</i>	244
14	The palace of Nijmegen in the tenth and early eleventh centuries <i>Bert Thissen</i>	265
15	The so-called women's gallery in the medieval church: an import from Byzantium <i>Hiltje F.H. Zomer</i>	290
16	The human and economic context <i>L.F. Genicot</i>	307
17	The palace and the monastery in Byzantine spiritual life c. 1000 <i>A.J. van der Aalst</i>	314
	<i>Index</i>	337

Illustrations

1	The Crucifixion. Byzantine ivory, tenth century	<i>page</i> 60
2	Abbesses of royal abbeys: a genealogy	88
3	Lead seal of Peter of Bulgaria and Maria Lekapena	141
4	Lead seal of Peter of Bulgaria and Maria Lekapena	142
5	Lead seal of Basil I and Constantine	145
6	Lead seal of Peter of Bulgaria and Maria Lekapena	145
7	Lead seal of Peter of Bulgaria of the 960s	147
8	Trier Stadtbibliothek MS 7/9 8°, fols 2v and 3r	180
9	Codex Vindobonensis Graecus 114, fol. 12v	195
10	Marriage charter of Theophano from 972, detail	246
11	Vivian Bible	250
12	Maniakon	259
13	Loros	260
14	Codex aureus Epternacensis, detail of cover	262
15	Map of medieval Nijmegen and surroundings	270

Theophanu divina gratia imperatrix augusta:
western and eastern emperorship in the later
tenth century★

KARL LEYSER

In the second half of the tenth century the eastern and the Ottonian empires confronted one another at a time when neither lacked aggressiveness and self-assurance, though both qualities still had to be tested against crises and setbacks. Their political cultures differed profoundly, and the difference is not best summed up by calling the Byzantine world and its power structures advanced and those of the Saxon Reich barbaric, to use the Greeks' own word. True, Byzantine emperorship rested on ancient and, it was felt, divinely willed certainties, while there was as yet something provisional, tentative and looking for a content in that of the West. Yet it too wanted to be seen and understood as being directed providentially, by the heavenly architect. As the *arenga* of one of Otto I's diplomas for Hersfeld succinctly expressed it:¹

Otto by the ordinance of divine providence august emperor.
The power of God advanced us to the pinnacle of the imperial
summit so that we should promote the well-being and progress
especially of all the places devoted to the service of God, so that
by the orisons of his servants, of those who watch and pray
there, the prosperity of our empire should be guided in uninter-
rupted tranquillity and that after the passing away of this

★ Karl Leyser left this text, which also appears in his *Communications and Power in Medieval Europe: The Carolingian and Ottonian Centuries*, ed. T. Reuter (London, Hambledon Press, 1993), as an unfootnoted lecture at his death in 1992; I have copy-edited the text lightly and supplied the necessary references to primary sources and the secondary literature. My thanks are due for help with references to Donald Bullough and especially to Jonathan Shepard, who gave me invaluable guidance on matters Byzantine. Timothy Reuter

¹ MGH DD O I, no. 356 (Benevento, 15 February 968); the *arenga* recurs essentially unchanged in MGH DD O I, no. 373 for Casa aurea (Pescara), MGH DD O I, no. 404 for St Sophia, Benevento, and MGH DD O II, no. 17 for Hersfeld.

temporal life, companionship in eternal felicity shall not be denied to us.

Contubernium it was called, like sharing a tent. The historians of the Ottonian Reich and its liturgical practice unceasingly proclaimed it as part of the divine order for the world.

The Byzantine emperor was God's viceroy in this life for the *oikoumene*, and by rights his authority stretched over the whole universe, whatever interlopers *de facto* contested, rejected, ignored or denied his lordship.² Ottonian emperorship had as yet no such content. It was but an enhanced kingship: rule over more than one kingdom made manifest and recognized by a rank, a dignity and coronation ritual. When the Italian *dictator* who had drafted the preamble of Otto I's diploma for Hersfeld cited above spoke about the advancement of clerks and monks as the servants of God, he was not only uttering a commonplace repeated in hundreds of such preambles and elsewhere, but he also failed to define a specifically imperial task and duty, for the well-being of churches, their protection and tranquillity, were the first and foremost duty of all kings, not just emperors, and most of them swore to it in their coronation promises.³ *Arengae* similar to this one also occur in Otto I's diplomas before 2 February 962, when he was crowned emperor by pope John XII in St Peter's, though they were less frequent. Here is an example, the gift of half the city of Chur to its bishop with all appurtenances and rights of justice:⁴ 'If we strive zealously to augment church possessions as they were established by our predecessors, we do not doubt to earn the highest reward thereby.'

Our task must therefore be to seek out, if possible, and identify those tasks and activities of Otto I's that were specifically imperial and not just royal, and it will soon be found that it is not at all easy

² O. Treitinger, *Die oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee nach ihrer Gestaltung im höfischen Zeremoniell* (Jena, 1938), pp. 161–213; F. Dölger, 'Die Familie der Könige im Mittelalter', in Dölger, *Byzanz und die europäische Staatenwelt* (Ettal, 1953), pp. 34–69; A. Toynbee, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus and his World* (London, 1973), pp. 346–51.

³ For the *arengae* of Ottonian diplomas see the works cited in n. 93; on coronation promises see P.E. Schramm, *Kaiser, Könige und Päpste: gesammelte Aufsätze*, 4 vols. in 5 (Stuttgart, 1968–70), especially II, pp. 140–305 ('Die Krönung im 9. und 10. Jahrhundert'), and III, pp. 33–134 ('Die deutschen Herrscher aus dem sächsischen Hause als Könige (bis 962)'); Janet L. Nelson, *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe* (London, 1986), especially 'Kingship, law and liturgy in the political thought of Hincmar of Rheims', pp. 133–71.

⁴ MGH DD O I, no. 191 (Fritzlar, 16 January 958).

Western and eastern emperorship in the later tenth century

to do so. The Byzantine emperor, the *basileus Romaion*, commanded a machinery of government and a *lex scripta* to which he could add in his own novels as the situation required.⁵ Difficult and even fundamental problems, such as the relentless pressure of the *dynatoi* seeking to acquire lands at the expense of the *penetes*, that is of the poor and middling peasant owners,⁶ the maintenance of military holdings to keep up the armed forces in so far as they were made up of *stratiotai* as against the regiments of standing troops,⁷ all these things could be and were countered by legislation. Even if these laws did not in the long run arrest, let alone reverse the process, they nonetheless slowed it down and prevented the rapid erosion of what was considered to be a vital resource for both defensive and offensive military operations. The landed aristocracy had no cause to bless the reign of Basil II. His novels and their enforcement and his taxation for once hit them hard, not

⁵ L. Bréhier, *Le Monde byzantin*, II, *Les institutions byzantines* (Paris, 1949), especially pp. 89–217; W. Ensslin, 'The government and administration of the Byzantine Empire', in *The Cambridge Medieval History*, IV, *The Byzantine Empire*, II, *Government, Church and Civilisation*, ed. J.M. Hussey (Cambridge, 1967), 1–54; H. Ahrweiler, 'Recherches sur l'administration de l'Empire byzantin aux IXe–XIe siècles', in Ahrweiler, *Etudes sur les structures administratives et sociales de Byzance* (London, 1971), ch. 8; reconstructions based on lists of officials in N. Oikonomides, *Listes de préséance byzantines des IXe et Xe siècles* (Paris, 1972), especially pp. 281–363. On law see H.J. Scheltema, 'Byzantine law', in *Government, Church and Civilisation*, ed. J.M. Hussey, pp. 55–78; ODB, pp. 1497–8 and P.E. Pieler, 'Rechtswissenschaft', in H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, II, *Byzantinisches Handbuch*, 5/2 (Munich, 1978), pp. 343–480, at pp. 445–72.

⁶ On *dynatoi* and *penetes* see G. Ostrogorsky, 'Agrarian conditions in the Byzantine Empire in the Middle Ages', in *Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, I, *The Agrarian Life of the Middle Ages*, second edn ed. M.M. Postan (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 216–22; Toynbee, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus* (see n. 2), pp. 145–76. The views there expressed have been subject to some debate in recent decades: R. Morris, 'The powerful and the poor in tenth-century Byzantium: law and reality', *Past and Present*, 73 (1976), 3–27, argues that the problem is an artificial one; P. Lemerle, *Agrarian History of Byzantium from the Origins to the Twelfth Century: The Sources and Problems* (Galway, 1979), pp. 90–108, sees the issue as essentially one of taxation; A. Harvey, *Economic Expansion in the Byzantine Empire, 900–1200* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 37–44, sees the problem as a real one caused by demographic increase and the tenth-century imperial legislation as a response to the strength of the magnates.

⁷ Toynbee, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus* (see n. 2), pp. 134–45; Lemerle, *Agrarian History* (see n. 6), pp. 115–65; J. Haldon, *Recruitment and Conscription in the Byzantine Empire: A Study in the Origins of the Stratiotika Ktemata*, *Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien*, phil.-hist. Klasse 357 (Vienna, 1979), 41–65; *Le Traité sur la guérilla (de velitatione) de l'empereur Nicéphore Phocas (963–969)*, ed. G. Dagron and H. Mihăescu (Paris, 1986), pp. 266–9, 275–83; D. Gorecki, 'The stratiotai of Constantine VII: the legal status, administration and historical background', *BZ*, 82 (1989), 157–76.

to mention the punishments for rebellions and the drastic diminution of individual noble fortunes.⁸

It does not follow that the weak, the underdogs, prospered under this regime. They too were taxed, if anything more relentlessly, and governed harshly. The imperial bureaucracy could be directed from the centre. It was literate, it received and could respond to *grammata* and *keleuseis* from the palace, but there was rarely, if ever, any attempt to foster attitudes and an atmosphere of loyalty and attachment lower down and among the governed.⁹ Army discipline too was harsh and often enough unjust. This must be set against the technical accomplishments of Byzantine warfare in the tenth century, which so greatly impressed those western observers who came to know them. Westerners, not only Italians, were aware of the fast Greek ships with their well-armed troops on board and above all their deadly weapon, Greek fire.¹⁰ Byzantine land forces knew a chain of command, units and sub-units. They could be marshalled and organized in a way that surpassed the military fluidities of the Ottonians, whose own military capacities were at the same time grossly underrated by Nikephoros Phokas in his conversation with Liutprand of Cremona, if we can trust the bishop's report in the *Legatio*.¹¹ It is

⁸ Lemerle, *Agrarian History* (see n. 6), p. 107; J.-C. Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance (963-1210)* (Paris, 1990), pp. 331-6, argues that Basil II did not direct his novels against landlords as a 'class', but rather against specific rival families such as the Phokades. The purges and conflicts with leading noble families are still best followed in G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, third revised edn (New Brunswick, 1969), pp. 295-340.

⁹ Dagron and Mihaescu, *Le Traité* (see n. 7), pp. 284-7; G. Dagron, 'Byzance et le modèle islamique au Xe siècle: à propos des constitutions tactiques de l'empereur Léon VI', *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* (1983), pp. 219-42, at pp. 237-42 on Byzantine attempts to adapt and exploit Islamic notions of *jihad*; J. Haldon, "'Blood and Ink": some observations on Byzantine attitudes towards warfare and diplomacy', in *Byzantine Diplomacy: Papers from the Twenty-Fourth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Cambridge, March 1990*, ed. J. Shepard and S. Franklin (London, 1992), pp. 281-94, at pp. 291-4.

¹⁰ E. Eickhoff, *Seekrieg und Seepolitik zwischen Islam und Abendland bis zum Aufstiege Pisas und Genuas (650-1040)* (Saarbrücken, 1954), pp. 42-98; H. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer: la marine de guerre, la politique et les institutions maritimes de Byzance aux VIIe-XVe siècles*, Bibliothèque Byzantine, Etudes 5 (Paris, 1966), especially pp. 93-135. On Greek fire see J. Haldon and M. Byrnes, 'A possible solution to the problem of Greek fire', *BZ*, 70 (1977), 91-9; E. Pásthory, 'Über das "Griechisches Feuer"', *Zeitschrift für Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte*, 17 (1986), 27-37.

¹¹ For Byzantine military organization at this time see Toynbee, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus* (see n. 2), pp. 282-7; *Three Byzantine Military Treatises*, ed. G. Dennis,

Western and eastern emperorship in the later tenth century

possible that the Greeks, because they seldom, if ever, met the best of the Latin *miles armatus*, heavily armed, shielded, hauberked and mounted warriors, did not follow the military evolution of the West very closely and were thus taken by surprise when they at last came to see it at close quarters during the First Crusade.¹²

To identify and discover a programme, an overarching *raison d'être* for Otto I's emperorship, other than the vast extent of his overlordship, is something that is much harder to do than it is for Charlemagne's, and this for two reasons. In the first place we read in Widukind that he had already been hailed *imperator* by his warriors after the great victory over the Magyars at the battle of the Lech in 955 just as his father's men, according to Widukind again, had called Henry I 'emperor' in 933 after his victory over the Magyars at Riade.¹³ This kind of acclamation of a victorious commander, whatever its classical undertones in so well-schooled a writer as the Corvey monk, was not impossible and even received some support from another source, and that a critical one, the older Life of Otto I's mother, Queen Matilda. The author knew of Otto's Roman coronation, which he believed was by God's command, but he also mentioned and censured what he described as a tumultuous act of Otto I's host, which made him emperor by imposing a diadem that he could not decline or repudiate.¹⁴ Yet the idea of an emperorship that did not owe its beginnings and its rights to a papal coronation had some resonance and appeal, not least, as we saw, for Widukind of Cor-

DOT (Washington, DC, 1985); E. McGeer, 'Infantry versus cavalry: the Byzantine response', *Revue des Etudes Byzantines*, 46 (1988), 135–45. For Nikephoros' views on Ottonian soldiers see Liutprand, *Legatio*, in *Quellen zur Geschichte der sächsischen Kaiserzeit*, ed. A. Bauer and R. Rau, AQDG 8, c. 11, p. 182.

¹² Anna Komnene, *Alexiad*, VIII, 3, ed. B. Leib (Paris, 1945), III, p. 115; cf. also the comments in X, 3, 5 (II, p. 197) and XIV, 7, 2 (III, p. 173). T. Kolias, *Byzantinische Waffen: ein Beitrag zur byzantinischen Waffenkunde von den Anfängen bis zur lateinischen Eroberung*, Byzantina Vindobonensia (Vienna, 1988), pp. 200–8, especially p. 208 with nn. 129–30, shows that the Byzantines were recruiting mounted warriors from the West from the mid-eleventh century onwards, but the effectiveness of the Crusaders was evidently still a shock and a surprise.

¹³ Widukind, *Res gestae Saxonicae*, in *Quellen zur Geschichte der sächsischen Kaiserzeit*, ed. A. Bauer and R. Rau, AQDG 8, III, 49, p. 128 (Lechfeld); I, 39, p. 58 (Riade); see E.E. Stengel, 'Der Heerkaiser (Den Kaiser macht das Heer): Studien zur Geschichte eines politischen Gedankens', in Stengel, *Abhandlungen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisergedankens im Mittelalter* (Cologne, 1965), pp. 1–169, at pp. 56–91.

¹⁴ *Vita Mahthildis antiquior*, c. 16, MGH SS X, p. 81; for commentary see Stengel, 'Heerkaiser', in *Abhandlungen* (see n. 13), p. 76.

vey.¹⁵ Nevertheless, it could not prevail against the strength of the Carolingian tradition and the papacy's established hold over the act of coronation. It was precisely the frequent papal coronations of local contenders in the struggles for the Italian kingdom during the later ninth and early tenth century, and the occasional imperial unctions of Carolingians from the north like Charles III and Arnolf, that had given the papacy its indefeasible and incontrovertible sanction of crowning or refusing to crown. Wido, Lambert, Louis the Blind and Berengar I had all sought and held emperorships which gave them some standing in Rome without much easing their desperate and treacherous battles for the Italian kingdom and its rich assets in Pavia and the Lombard plain.¹⁶ Berengar I of the margraval house of Friuli, and through his mother a grandson of Louis the Pious, had been the last to be so crowned, by pope John X in 915, shortly after the latter's victory over the Saracens at the Garigliano. Berengar had not taken part in this campaign as befitted a king, but a temporary power vacuum in Tuscany had opened the way to Rome for him.¹⁷ It is revealing that entirely local and regional considerations led to the invitation, just as they were to do in the case of Otto I. The house of Theophylact, with its iron grip on Roman society and its very influential friends outside, not least of all in Constantinople, was able to repel at least three assaults by king Hugh, battling at the walls of Rome for an imperial coronation that eluded him. The regime of Alberic, the *princeps Romanus*, may have wanted to dispense with emperorship altogether.¹⁸ When it was unable to do

¹⁵ For a good recent discussion see E. Karpf, *Herrscherlegitimation und Reichsbegriff in der ottonischen Geschichtsschreibung des 10. Jahrhunderts*, Historische Forschungen, 10 (Stuttgart, 1985), especially pp. 168–75, 196; see also H. Beumann, 'Imperator Romanorum, rex gentium: zu Widukind III 76', in Beumann, *Ausgewählte Aufsätze aus den Jahren 1966–1986* (Sigmaringen, 1987), pp. 324–40.

¹⁶ G. Fasoli, *I re d'Italia (888–962)* (Florence, 1949), pp. 1–96; Fasoli, 'Re, imperatori e sudditi nell'Italia del secolo X', *Studi Medievali*, serie terza, 4 (1963), 52–74; R. Hiestand, *Byzanz und das Regnum Italicum im 10. Jahrhundert*, Geist und Werk der Zeiten, 9 (Zurich, 1964), pp. 36–137, and, for a brief account in English with a broader overall context, C. Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy, 400–1000* (London, 1981), pp. 168–81.

¹⁷ Fasoli, *I re d'Italia* (see n. 16), pp. 83–7; Hiestand, *Byzanz* (see n. 16), pp. 128–37; see most recently R. Savigni, 'Sacerdozio e regno in età post-Carolingia: l'episcopato di Giovanni X, arcivescovo di Ravenna (905–914) e papa (914–928)', *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia*, 46 (1992), 1–29, at p. 4, with further literature.

¹⁸ This seems at least a plausible deduction from Alberic's refusal to grant imperial coronation to Hugh in 933 and (probably) to Otto I in 951/2; on the latter event see the references in *Regesta Imperii*, II, 1, *Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter Heinrich I. und Otto I. 919–973*, ed. J.F. Böhmer and E. von Otenthal (Hil-

Western and eastern emperorship in the later tenth century

so it turned to an effective and formidable military protector who had already once, in 951–2, subjected the dynasty of the north in the person of Berengar II of the house of Ivrea, who now himself threatened Rome in order to hold together his own following with the magic or poison of success. Otto I's emperorship thus came about because the papacy, the clan of Alberic, now headed by pope John XII, needed help. It did not need or want what it eventually got, a stark northern military presence, not indeed a permanent occupation but repeated Ottonian expeditions at brief intervals, manned by Saxon, Rhine-Frankish, Bavarian, Swabian and Slav contingents.¹⁹

Otto I's emperorship stemmed from his victories over 'barbarian' peoples, Hungarians and others, so the opening narrative of pope John XII's privilege authorizing the Saxon ruler's most cherished plans proclaimed. He had come to receive the triumphal crown of victory, 'in inperii culmen' from St Peter, prince of the Apostles 'through us [John XII]'.²⁰ The formulation of Otto's *arenga* in his diploma for Hersfeld cited above, with its reference to the *imperialis culminis* ... *apicem*, pinnacle of the imperial summit, now becomes very clear and significant.²¹ John's privilege harnesses the emperorship to the forcible conversion of the Slav peoples under Saxon military rule and envisaged the archbishopric of Magdeburg and suffragan sees as the bastions from which it was to be brought about.²² The papal privilege entitled

desheim, 1967), no. 201a, and in general see Hiestand, *Byzanz* (see n. 16), pp. 158–61, 164–9, 177–9 and J. Shepard, 'Byzantium and the West', in *New Cambridge Medieval History*, III, 900–1024, ed. T. Reuter (Cambridge, forthcoming).

¹⁹ Fasoli, *I re d'Italia* (see n. 16), pp. 171–204, has a good account of the last days of the Alberician regime in Rome. It should be noted, however, that the theme of the pope appealing to a power north of the Alps for help and getting far more help than he wanted was not confined to the late tenth century but was a leitmotiv of papal history from the eighth through to the twelfth century at least.

²⁰ John XII for Magdeburg, Rome, 12 February 962: H. Zimmermann, *Papsturkunden, 896–1046*, I, 896–996, second edn, Denkschriften der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse, 174 (Vienna, 1988), pp. 281–4, no. 154, here pp. 282–3: 'Otto, devictis barbaris gentibus, Auaribus scilicet ceterisque quam pluribus, ut ad defensionem sanctę Dei ꝑcclesię triumphalem victorie in inperii culmen per nos. a beato Petro apostolorum principe susciperet coronam ... Otto, qualiter Sclauos, quos ipse devicit, in catholica fide noviter fundaverat, nostrę paternitati innotuit deprecans et obnixę postulans ... [and receives permission to set up sees at Magdeburg and Merseburg].'

²¹ See above at n. 1.

²² For an attempt to demonstrate a similar link between Charlemagne's coronation of 800 and Slav mission see H. Löwe, *Die karolingische Reichsgründung und der*

the emperor and his successors to allocate and distribute the tributes and the tithes of those baptised or yet to be baptised to the see of Magdeburg, Merseburg and others, together with the converts. But it took some years before Otto's own son, archbishop William of Mainz, would bow to a diminution of his jurisdiction, and bishop Bernhard of Halberstadt, for whom it meant ceding some of his parish to the new metropolis, refused to yield as long as he lived, nor could Otto coerce him.²³

Of Charlemagne Einhard had written – in one of his very few anecdotes – that he felt at first so dismayed about his emperorship, the *nomen imperatoris*, that he said he would not have gone to St Peter's, even though it was the holiest of feast days, if he had known what the pope planned to do.²⁴ In the long debate on the interpretation of this utterance – was it merely a modesty topos or an indignant critique of the coronation's modalities? – we need not here enter.²⁵ But it is essential to remember that we possess an equally characteristic utterance of Otto I's about his coronation, made just before it. We owe it to Thietmar of Merseburg, who belonged to the Saxon high aristocratic circles where such stories had currency, were remembered and echoed more widespread sentiments. Thietmar, as so often, pauses to recall men whose remembrance he wanted to enjoin on his readers as a pastoral duty, and he lit upon the career of Count Ansfried, late bishop of Utrecht. Ansfried was one of the few nobles who had received both a secular and a clerical education. He had at first been

Südosten: Studien zum Werden des Deutschtums und seiner Auseinandersetzung mit Rom, Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Geistesgeschichte, 13 (Stuttgart, 1937), less *zeitbedingt* than the subtitle might suggest.

²³ The resistance put up by William of Mainz and Bernard of Halberstadt (and by others less clearly visible in the sources) to the new ecclesiastical province is best summarized in D. Claude, *Geschichte des Erzbistums Magdeburg bis in das 12. Jahrhundert*, 1, *Die Geschichte der Erzbischöfe bis auf Ruotger (1124)*, Mitteldeutsche Forschungen, 67/1 (Cologne, 1972), pp. 63–95; see also O. Engels, 'Die Gründung der Kirchenprovinz Magdeburg und die Ravensburger "Synode" von 968', *Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum*, 7 (1975), 136–58; G. Tellenbach, *The Western Church from the Tenth to the Early Twelfth Century*, trans. T. Reuter (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 52–4, 58, 72.

²⁴ Einhard, *Vita Karoli*, in *Quellen zur karolingischen Reichsgeschichte*, ed. R. Rau, AQDG 5, c. 28, p. 32: 'Quod primo in tantum aversatus est, ut adfirmaret se eo die, quamvis praecipua festivitas esset, ecclesiam non intraturum, si pontificis consilium praescire potuisset.'

²⁵ Summarized in P. Classen, *Karl der Grosse, das Papsttum und Byzanz: Die Begründung des karolingischen Kaisertums*, revised edn ed. H. Fuhrmann and C. Märtl, Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters, 9 (Sigmaringen, 1985), pp. 74–7.

Western and eastern emperorship in the later tenth century

instructed in secular and divine law by his uncle, archbishop Robert of Trier, and was then placed under the care of Archbishop Brun of Cologne, Otto I's brother, to be trained as a warrior.²⁶ On the eve of his Roman expedition, in 961, Otto took him into his personal following and made him his swordbearer. On entering Rome he told Ansfried:

When I pray today at the holy threshold of the Apostles hold your sword always over my head. I know only too well how often our predecessors had reason to worry about the trustworthiness of the Romans. It is wise to be circumspect and guard against all eventualities lest they should get the better of us. Once we are safely back you can go and pray as much as you wish.²⁷

A note of hard down-to-earthness is sounded here. Otto wanted to be crowned emperor but he had few illusions about the setting and the immediate source of his newly won dignity.

An age-old Carolingian tradition had been refurbished with the Saxon ruler's coronation in 962. It was one his aristocratic warrior and native following could learn to share. Not uncommon Saxon nobles' names like Gunthar, Ricdag and Reding appear among the *signa* of Otto's *pactum confirmationis*, the solemn diploma for St Peter and his vicar, pope John XII.²⁸ Kingship over many peoples,²⁹ such as Otto now possessed, called for some visible expression and recognition, though it was possible without it. Already in the 950s Constantine Porphyrogenetos called Otto I a *megas rex* of 'Francia or Saxony' when he mentioned the 'Belocroats, that is White Croats', in his treatise *De administrando imperio*.³⁰ They were subject to him. Later Skylitzes, writing in the eleventh century but using a late tenth-century source,

²⁶ On Ansfried's pre-episcopal career see R. Grosse, *Das Bistum Utrecht und seine Bischöfe im 10. und frühen 11. Jahrhundert*, Kölner Historische Abhandlungen, 33 (Cologne, 1987), pp. 115–54.

²⁷ Thietmar, *Chronicon*, ed. W. Trillmich, AQDG 9, IV, 32, pp. 169/71; see on the passage H. Grundmann, 'Betrachtungen zur Kaiserkrönung Ottos I.', in *Otto der Grosse*, ed. H. Zimmermann, Wege der Forschung, 450 (Darmstadt, 1976), pp. 214–17.

²⁸ MGH DD O I, no. 235 (Rome, 13 February 962).

²⁹ On this aspect of emperorship see Beumann, 'Imperator Romanorum', in *Ausgewählte Aufsätze* (see n. 15) and E.E. Stengel, 'Kaisertitel und Suveränitätsidee: Studien und Vorgeschichte des modernen Staatsbegriffs', in *Abhandlungen* (see n. 13), pp. 241–81.

³⁰ *De administrando imperio*, c. 30, lines 73–4, second edn ed. by Gy. Moravcsik and R. Jenkins, DOT 1 (Washington, DC, 1967), pp. 142–3.

described Otto as *ton phranton basileus* not only when he referred to the deposition of pope John XII in 963 but also when he reported his execution of the *karchas* Bulksu in 955 after the battle at the Lech.³¹ What matters here is that they did not see the year of Otto's imperial coronation at Rome as a marker or to present a special challenge such as Charlemagne's had done. For them it changed nothing and made no difference.

Charlemagne, however much he or his literati may have affected to look askance at the imperial dignity, had at once thought to fill it with meaning and content. Again Einhard is one of our chief guides, though by no means the only significant one: *Post susceptum imperiale nomen* he lists his especially imperial activities, attempts which he thought were unsuccessful, to clarify and amend the *leges* of the Franks and to cause the *leges* of the peoples under his lordship to be collected and written down. This he achieved.³² Einhard regarded as still more important Charles' efforts to record the *carmina antiquissima*, to have a grammar of the vernacular attempted and to settle the names of the winds and the months again in the vernacular, as imperial acts, and for this he could marshal the classical traditions in which he was formidably well schooled.³³ We know of course that Charlemagne did much more: not only had new oaths to be sworn enhancing the obligations of his *fideles*, but historiography was mobilized as a means to propagate a new imperial presence; even the building of a lighthouse could count as an imperial act.³⁴ There was a ceaseless,

³¹ John Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, 'Konstantinos palin Autokrator', cc. 5, 12, ed. I. Thurn, *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae: Series Berolinensis*, 5 (Berlin, 1973), pp. 239, 245.

³² Einhard, *Vita Karoli* (see n. 24), c. 29, p. 33, essentially confirmed by modern scholarly work on the *Volksrechte*, summarized most recently by H. Siems, *Handel und Wucher im Spiegel frühmittelalterlicher Rechtsquellen*, Schriften der MGH (Hanover, 1992), pp. 11–157; see also C. Schott, 'Der Stand der Leges-Forschung', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 13 (1979), 29–55.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 33–4; see D. Geuenich, 'Die volkssprachige Überlieferung der Karolingerzeit aus der Sicht des Historikers', *DA*, 39 (1983), 104–30, at pp. 113–27, for a commentary which significantly relativizes Charles' contribution. On Einhard's literary intentions see above all the classic study by H. Beumann, 'Topos und Gedankengefüge bei Einhard', in Beumann, *Ideengeschichtliche Studien zu Einhard und anderen Geschichtsschreibern des früheren Mittelalters* (Darmstadt, 1962), pp. 1–15, and also H. Löwe, 'Die Entstehungszeit der Vita Karoli Einhard's', *DA*, 39 (1983), 85–103.

³⁴ See F.L. Ganshof, 'Charlemagne's programme of imperial government', in Ganshof, *The Carolingians and Frankish Monarchy*, trans. J. Sondheimer (London, 1971), pp. 55–85. For the lighthouse see *Annales regni Francorum*, s.a. 811, ed. F. Kurze, MGH SRG VI (Hanover, 1895), p. 135: 'ad Bononiam civitatem

Western and eastern emperorship in the later tenth century

almost feverish quest for improvements in all spheres of life, ecclesiastical and lay; a second and almost a third generation of savants and literati were spurred on, and Aachen became a self-consciously imperial centre where Charles could reside and be maintained all the year round, allowing the ageing ruler to break out of the rhythm of itineracy halted only by some months of winter residence which had hitherto dominated his use of time.³⁵

No such spate of new activities, the quickened opening of new horizons or the enlargement of older ones stemmed from Otto I's emperorship. The presuppositions were simply not there. As king, it is true, he had done something to mend his own education, learning Latin and to read it after the death of his first wife Edith in 946.³⁶ During the 950s also, as Fleckenstein has shown, the number of *capellani* serving at his court rose.³⁷ Among them we note two outstanding historians and men of letters: Liutprand, raised to the see of Cremona in 957;³⁸ and Adalbert, who became the first archbishop of Magdeburg in 968.³⁹ The number of *capellani* increased again after 965, the year of archbishop Bruno of Cologne's death. They now numbered fifteen, and were Otto's literate *comitatus*.⁴⁰ From this it would seem that the emperorship did not lead to any startling changes in the composition and

maritimam . . . accessit farumque ibi ad navigantium cursus dirigendos antiquitus constitutam restauravit'; *restauravit* has unmistakable imperial overtones, especially as the lighthouse had been built by Caligula (Suetonius, *De vita Caesarum*, 'Caligula', c. 46, editio minor M. Ihm (Leipzig and Berlin, 1923), p. 181, 14–17).

³⁵ For this development and its prehistory see D. Bullough, 'Aula Renovata: the Carolingian court before the Aachen Palace', in Bullough, *Carolingian Renewal* (Manchester, 1992), pp. 123–60, at p. 142 and notes.

³⁶ Widukind, *Res gestae Saxonicae* (see n. 13), II, 36, p. 96, no doubt influenced by Einhard, *Vita Karoli* (see n. 24), cc. 24–6, pp. 29–31.

³⁷ J. Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle der deutschen Könige*, II, *Die Hofkapelle im Rahmen der ottonisch-salischen Reichskirche*, Schriften der MGH, 16/2 (Stuttgart, 1966), pp. 40–58.

³⁸ On Liutprand's career and historical writings see K.J. Leyser, 'Ends and means in Liutprand of Cremona', in *Byzantium and the West c. 850–c. 1200*, ed. J.D. Howard-Johnston (Amsterdam, 1988), pp. 119–43, with full bibliography; see more recently J.N. Sutherland, *Liutprand of Cremona, Bishop, Diplomat, Historian: Studies of the Man and his Age* (Spoleto, 1988 [completed 1977 and published posthumously]).

³⁹ On Adalbert see Karl Hauck, 'Erzbischof Adalbert von Magdeburg als Geschichtsschreiber', in *Festschrift für Walter Schlesinger*, ed. Helmut Beumann (Cologne, 1974), II, pp. 276–344; Karpf, *Herrscherlegitimation und Reichsbegriff* (see n. 15), pp. 47–62. M. Frase, *Friede und Königsherrschaft: Quellenkritik und Interpretation der Continuatio Reginonis* (Frankfurt, 1990), offers nothing new.

⁴⁰ Fleckenstein, *Hofkapelle* (see n. 37), p. 51.

make-up of Otto's entourage when he returned from his Italian expedition in 965, although the larger number of *capellani* should not be overlooked. One of them for certain and perhaps others became the patrons of outstanding illuminated manuscripts when they were still serving in Otto's entourage before rising to bishoprics, and they also knew where to commission the wonderful luxury diplomas written in gold on purple which Otto I gave to the Roman church in 962 and the young Otto II to Theophano granting her dower to her in 972.⁴¹ Here an imperial note was clearly struck, and Byzantine models and their immense attraction stand behind these magnificently executed and decorated texts. But notaries and *capellani* apart, Otto I did not feel any inner need to foster the cult of letters at his court. He had no programme as emperor to nurture a more expert and homogeneous lay ruling elite side by side with the clerical one. Yet he saw to it that his own son, Otto II, was well taught and he became indeed a book-lover whose visit to their library the monks of St Gallen feared.⁴²

Otto the Great was also an exceptionally restless ruler, more of a migrant than most. Even in the confines of his native Saxony he itinerated ceaselessly whatever the season with but brief pauses in his relatively numerous *palatia*, hunting lodges and *curtes* there, some of them in the religious centres he so zealously built up.⁴³ Only once can he be found staying for half a year on end in the capital of his Italian kingdom, Pavia. Here he resided from September 962 until April 963, taking stock perhaps of its exceptionally sophisticated services, governmental apparatus and inflow

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 49; H. Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum im ottonischen und frühsalischen Reich*, Schriften der MGH, 30/1 (Stuttgart, 1986), pp. 103–26. Theophano's dowry diploma is discussed in a number of contributions in von Euw and Schreiner, *Kaiserin Theophanu*, notably W. Georgi, 'Ottonianum und Heiratsurkunde 962/972', II, pp. 135–60 and P. Rück, 'Die Urkunde als Kunstwerk', II, pp. 311–33. See also C. Brühl, 'Purpururkunden', in Brühl, *Aus Mittelalter und Diplomatie: gesammelte Aufsätze*, II, *Studien zur Diplomatie* (Hildesheim, 1989), pp. 601–20.

⁴² On the differences in this respect between the 'Ottonian' and the 'Carolingian' renaissances see J. Fleckenstein, 'Königshof und Bischofsschule unter Otto dem Großen', in Fleckenstein, *Ordnungen und formende Kräfte des Mittelalters: ausgewählte Beiträge* (Göttingen, 1989), pp. 168–92. For Otto II's education see R. Ahlfeld, *Die Erziehung der sächsischen und salischen Herrscher im Hinblick auf ihre spätere Regierungszeit* (Diss. Greifswald, 1949) [not accessible to me]; Ekkehard IV, *Casus sancti Galli*, c. 147, ed. H.F. Haefele, AQDG 10 (Darmstadt, 1980), p. 284.

⁴³ Fundamental on this aspect of Ottonian rule is E. Müller-Mertens, *Die Reichsstruktur im Spiegel der Herrschaftspraxis Ottos des Großen: mit historiographischen Prolegomena zur Frage Feudalstaat auf deutschem Boden, seit wann deutscher Feudalstaat?*, Forschungen zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte, 25 (Berlin, 1980).